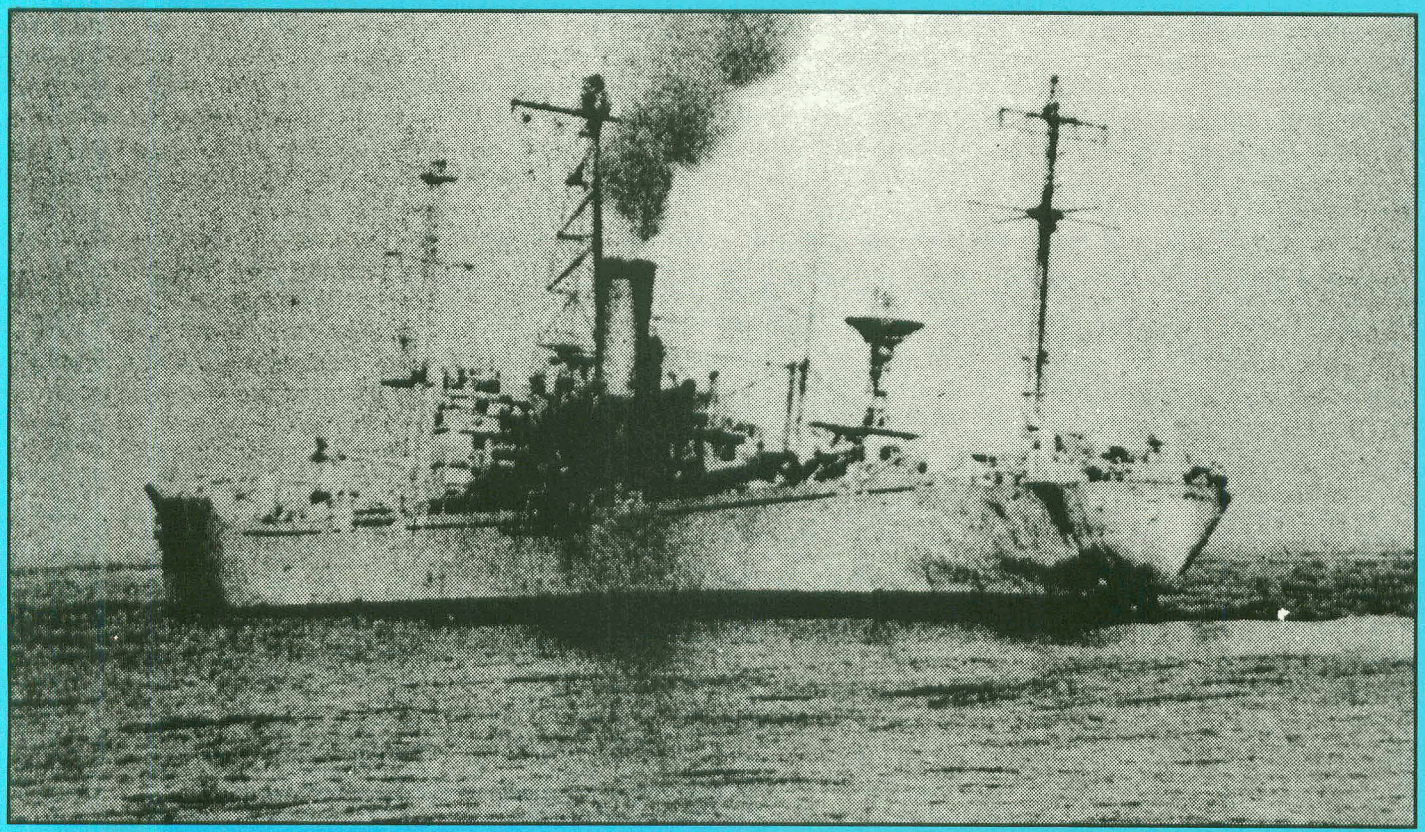
The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 21, Number 3/4 www.ihr.org May/August 2002



Israel's 'Sneak Attack' on the *USS Liberty*
Phillip Tourney

New 'Official' Changes in the Auschwitz Story
Mark Weber

The 14th IHR Conference: A Report

'For Fear of the Jews'
Joseph Sobran

— And More —

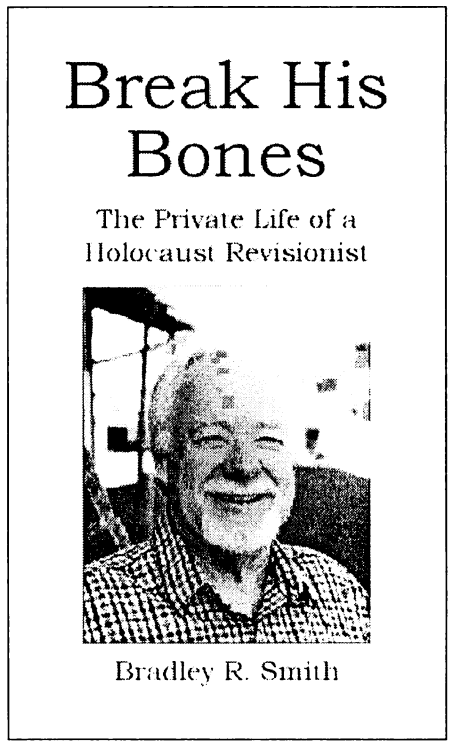
NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW! NEW!

An 'Extremist' Battler for Free Speech Tells His Story

During the early 1960s, Bradley Smith was arrested, jailed and prosecuted for selling a book that was then banned in the US, Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*. In the lengthiest civil trial to take place in Los Angeles up to that time, Smith was found guilty of selling this forbidden work.

The world has change a lot since then, but this incorrigible idealist has remained as devoted as ever to defending free speech and open debate.

During the 1980s and 1990s, he directed a campaign to place ads in student newspapers at colleges and universities across the country calling for open debate on the hottest of hot issues – the "Holocaust." His campaign generated enormous media attention across the country, and got him guest slots on hundreds of radio talk shows and on national television, including the Phil Donahue show.



Now, in a warm, witty and thoughtful memoir, this modern-day Don Quixote – whom the Zionist "Anti-Defamation League" absurdly smears as one of America's "Ten Top Extremists" – looks back on the challenges, disappointments and joys of his years-long battle against taboo and censorship.

Break His Bones details the organized campaign to suppress free speech and intellectual openness on the "Holocaust" issue, showing how skeptics are blacklisted, and their works banned. Smith gives a human face to the much-maligned "Holocaust deniers." "It might be said," he writes, that *Break His Bones* "is an exercise revealing the subjective life of a thought criminal."

What drives this man? "Simply put," explains Smith, "I do not believe in thought crimes, in taboos against intellectual freedom. I do not believe it is thought crime to express skepticism about the 'gas chamber' stories. I do not believe it is thought crime to question US support for Israel and its brutal and foolish policies toward Palestinians."

The Holocaust story, he says, has been "the instrument, the contrivance, that was used to 'morally' legitimate Jewish claims to Arab land in Palestine ... It remains the instrument used to morally legitimate the ongoing colonization of Palestinian Arab land by Jewish settlers ... The Holocaust story, with all its fraud and falsehood, continues to be used to support Israeli policies in Palestine, and to secure the funding of the Israeli military by the US Congress."

Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist
By Bradley R. Smith
Softcover. 315 pages. #0522. $19.00

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
PO BOX 2739 · NEWPORT BEACH, CA 92659 · USA
FAX (949) 631-0981 · HTTP://WWW.IHR.ORG

Editor: Mark Weber

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Advisors are not spokesmen of
the educational institutions identified.

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D
Los Angeles Unified School District (ret.)

ENRIQUE AYNAT, L.L.B.
Torreblanca, Spain

PHILIP BARKER, Ph.D
Minneapolis, Minnesota

JOHN BENNETT, L.L.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, L.L.M., Ph.D.
Professor of History (ret.)
Longwood College
Farmville, Virginia

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Electrical
and Computer Engineering
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

BOYD CATHEY, Ph.D.
The Southern Partisan
Columbia, South Carolina

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Santa Fe Springs, California

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
Professor of French Literature (ret.)
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, Germany

JÜRGEN GRAF
Basel, Switzerland

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
Beverly Hills, California

R. CLARENCE LANG, Ph.D., M. Div.
Seguin, Texas

JAMES MARTIN, Ph.D.
Professor of History (ret.)
Colorado Springs, Colorado

CARLO MATTOGNO
Rome, Italy

HIDEO MIKI
Professor of History (ret.)
National Defense Academy
Yokosuka, Japan

OLEG PLATONOV, Ph.D.
Moscow, Russia

HENRI ROQUES, Ph.D.
Colombes, France

GERMAR RUDOLF, Dipl.-Chem.
Hastings, England

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Glücksburg, Germany

CHARLES E. WEBER, Ph.D.
Head, Dept. of Modern Languages (ret.)
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma

C. ZAVERDINOS, Ph.D.
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 21, Number 3/4 May/August 2002

— IN THIS ISSUE —

Challenge and Opportunity in a Time of War: Editorial Note 2

The 14th IHR Conference: A Report 4

'For Fear of The Jews' 12
Joseph Sobran

Israel's 'Knife in the Back' Attack Against America 17
Phillip Tourney

Israeli Attack on the Liberty Was No Accident 19
An Interview with James Ennes

New 'Official' Changes in the Auschwitz Story 24
Mark Weber

Letters 31

On the cover: The *USS Liberty* limps toward safe harbor following the ferocious Israeli attack on June 8, 1967.

Photo credit: The photo of Tony Martin on page 6, and the photo of Joseph Sobran on page 7, are courtesy of LAH.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier, and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

Single copies of most *Journal* issues published since spring 1986 (volume 7) are available for $7.50 each, plus $2.00 shipping. Ask about the availability of specific issues. Hardbound annual volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1984, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993 are also available for $40.00 each, plus $3.50 shipping. Write for our booklist and prices.

Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on diskette. Send all correspondence to P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. E-mail to: ihr@ihr.org. Web site: http://www.ihr.org.

The Journal of Historical Review is listed in standard periodical directories. Contributions do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Historical Review.

All rights reserved. Except for specifically copyrighted items, permission is hereby given to reprint material from this issue of the *Journal*, provided that no changes or alterations are made without prior arrangement, and providing that the following attribution appears with the material: "Reprinted from *The Journal of Historical Review*, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA. Subscriptions: $40 per year (domestic)." A copy of the reprint should be sent to the editor.

The 14th IHR Conference: Confident Spirit Marks Successful Meeting

Outstanding speakers and an upbeat spirit marked the 14th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, June 21-23, in Irvine, California. Among the high points of the successful three-day meeting was the witty, thought-provoking banquet talk by columnist Joseph Sobran, and the rousing keynote address by IHR Director Mark Weber.

More than a hundred men and women — some coming from as far away as Australia, Argentina, Switzerland and Britain — came together in a shared passion for intellectual freedom and truthful history, scorn for the enemies of free expression, and a healthy skepticism of "official" history.

Greg Raven opened the Conference on Friday evening with a welcome to attendees and speakers, and then, serving as MC during the next two days, capably kept the proceedings on track and provided succinct, informative introductions of the speakers. In a brief welcome of his own, Mark Weber praised Greg's dedicated performance during his ten years with the IHR. For the past seven years, said Weber, Greg has quietly shouldered the primary responsibility for handling the Institute's complex financial, business and legal affairs. Greg also played a major role in organizing this conference.

Phillip Tourney

Thirty-five years ago, Israeli warplanes and torpedo boats carried out a surprise attack against the *USS Liberty*, an American intelligence ship operating in the eastern Mediterranean. Among the 172 American seamen wounded in the murderous attack on June 8, 1967, was Phil Tourney, who spoke on Friday evening. He impressed attendees with his calm earnestness and obvious sincerity and good will. Tourney, who was awarded the Bronze Star for his heroism under fire, is now President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association. He is also co-producer of a stunning new video about the 1967 attack, "The Loss of Liberty," which was presented at the Conference.

The 1967 Zionist attack, said Tourney in a recent Open Letter to President Bush, is "probably the most shameful day in American history." Copies of this Open Letter, published as a full-page advertisement in *The Washington Times* (June 6, 2002), were distributed to all Conference attendees. "Israel's premeditated, sneak attack, on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America," Tourney continued. "The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous."

Joseph Sobran

Syndicated columnist and author Joe Sobran was in top form on Saturday evening. In his stimulating banquet address, entitled "For fear of the Jews," he presented a witty and effective critique of the US-Israel "special relationship." He deftly dissected the Zionist state's familiar pretensions, and detailed how the Holo-

caust story is used to justify support for Israel. Sobran praised the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* for its "calm virtue of critical rationality." And after referring to Mark Weber, whom he has known for years, as a "polite, good-humored, scholarly man," he remarked: "If they can't tell the truth about 'Holocaust deniers,' how can they tell the truth about 'the Holocaust' itself?"

Acknowledging that he is not a specialist of "the Holocaust," Sobran said that he does not consider himself either a "Holocaust denier" or a "Holocaust affirmer." Instead, he said, he is a "Holocaust stipulator." During the question and answer period he spoke of his years-long relationship with *National Review* and its publisher William Buckley, and about how the influential magazine has changed drastically over the decades.

Robert Faurisson

Since he addressed the first IHR Conference in 1979 — 23 years ago — Dr. Faurisson has been a steadfast friend of the Institute. On this occasion, the French scholar presented numerous specific examples of punishments during the Second World War of Germans, by German authorities, for mistreatment of Jews. Such cases cannot, of course, be reconciled with the familiar "Holocaust" extermination story.

He cited, for example, a case in 1944 in German-occupied France involving two German soldiers who, together with French criminals, intimidated French Jews in Nice and forced them to hand over money and jewels. A German military court sentenced one of the soldiers to death and the other to twelve years imprisonment. In its judgment of April 11, 1944, the German court declared: "the fact that the violence in question was directed against Jews in no way excuses the perpetrators... the German reputation has thereby suffered."

Faurisson said that his presentation should not be considered conclusive, but is rather meant to encourage further research on a subject that has been ignored for too many years. "The silence with which this topic has been met up to now, by official Holocaust historians and revisionists alike, is astonishing." This silence is all the more remarkable given that the evidence he cited is not difficult to find. Indeed, some is published in the official 42-volume "blue series" record of the postwar Allied "International Military tribunal" of Nuremberg, 1945-1946.

Mark Weber

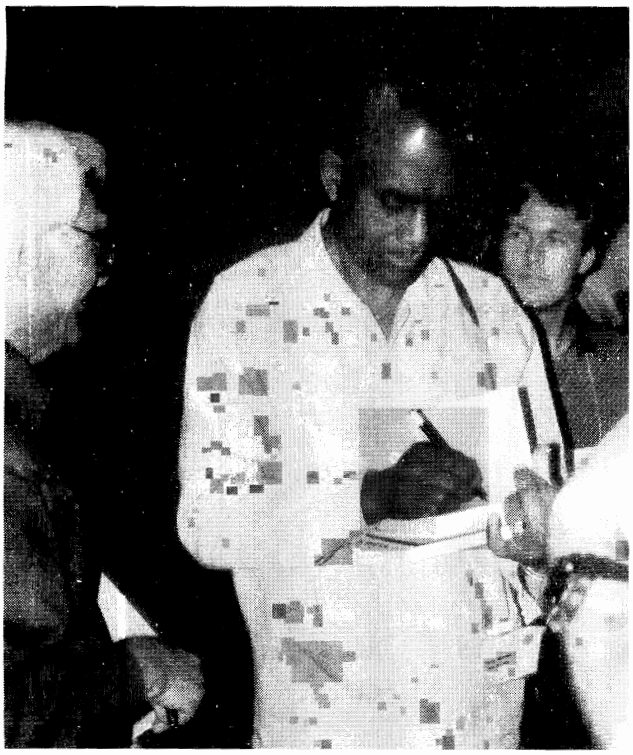
In his keynote address the IHR Director began by reviewing some highlights of the Institute's work and impact since the 13th Conference, in May 2000. These include the tremendous worldwide media attention garnered last year for the Institute and revisionism through the IHR's role in organizing the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference in Beirut, Lebanon, which was banned shortly before it was to begin by authorities bowing to pressure from the US government and Jewish organizations.

Phillip Tourney

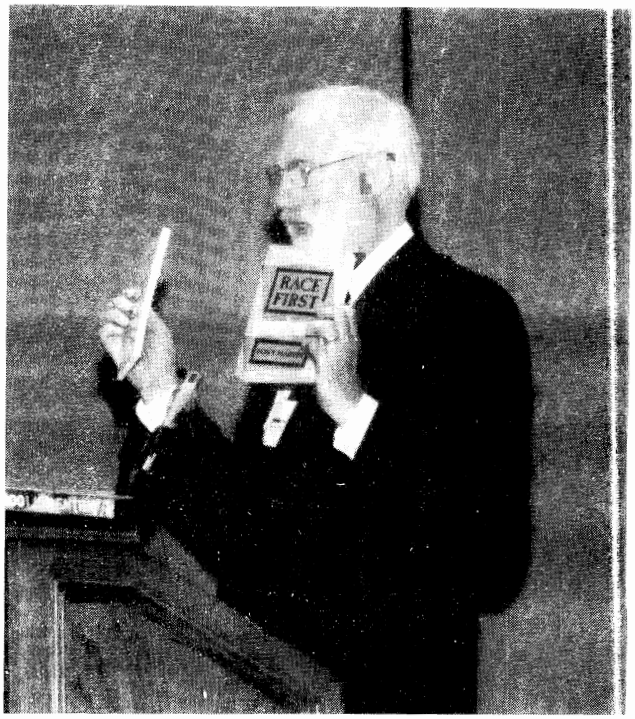
Most of Weber's Saturday afternoon address was devoted to a penetrating look at the origins, nature and impact of Jewish-Zionist power. Citing almost exclusively Jewish sources, Weber stressed the immense power and influence wielded by Jews in today's America. "Throughout history," he said, "Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never endures."

"Exposing this insidious power — in its many manifestations — will continue to be a important task of the IHR," Weber concluded. "In this new century as well,

Scenes from the 14th IHR Conference



Tony Martin autographs a book for an admirer.



Conference MC Greg Raven holds up two books by Tony Martin.

Mark Weber makes a point during his keynote address.

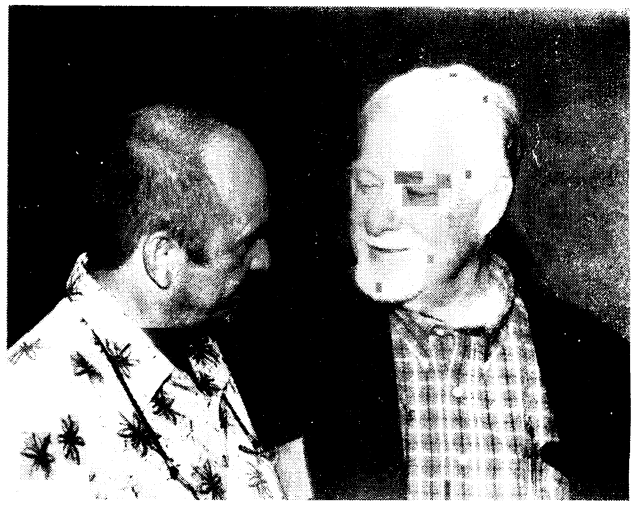
Tom Sunic

Joseph Sobran

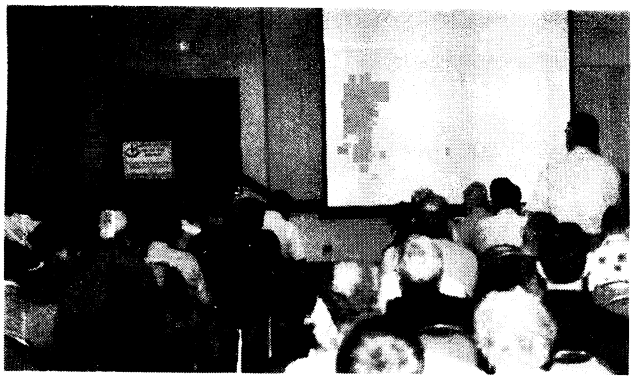
Jürgen Graf speaks with Robert Faurisson during a break, as Fredrick Töben and others look on.

Michele Renouf and Joe Sobran

Said Arikat stresses a point.



Walter Mueller, left, publisher of the northern California monthly *Community News*, with Bradley Smith.



A conference attendee directs a question to speaker Said Arikat.

we pledge to carry on our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity." The address was enthusiastically received, with the audience giving it a standing ovation.

In a second address delivered on Sunday afternoon, Weber dealt at length with the future of the IHR and revisionism. The Holocaust story, he said, has become less socially and politically important in recent years, and especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, he added, people everywhere are showing greater interest in, even a craving for, truthful information about the origins of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Zionism, Israel, the US-Israel relationship, and the "Jewish question."

While stressing that the IHR will not abandon its long-standing commitment to revisionist scholarship on "the Holocaust," he said that broadening the IHR's focus is essential if the Institute is to survive and prosper. "The changing world situation offers new opportunities for the IHR, which is almost uniquely positioned to deal candidly and forthrightly, and in a serious way, with topics that are of intense worldwide interest."

Tony Martin

Dr. Martin, a professor of African studies at Wellesley College (Massachusetts), presented a closely reasoned look at the techniques used by Jewish groups to marginalize, discredit and silence those whom they regard as harmful to their interests. He cited numerous specific examples, including outright lying and misrepresentation, use of *ad hominem* and "straw man" arguments, and arranging for pliant stooges to front for Jewish groups. Martin, who has authored or compiled/edited eleven books, came under tremendous attack from organized Jewry in 1993 because he had included a book on the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in a course he was teaching. He recounted the astonishing ordeal in his book, *The Jewish Onslaught*.

Tom Sunic

Dr. Tom Sunic, a one-time professor of political science in the United States, and, until recently, a diplomat in the foreign service of his native Croatia, provided a detailed look at the little known mistreatment and mass killings of German prisoners of war and ethnic German civilians in the former Yugoslavia, 1945-1953. He displayed maps showing the network of prison camps in Communist-ruled postwar Yugoslavia, in which many thousands perished.

Said Arikat

A seasoned writer and commentator who has often appeared in American television gave a moving and insightful Palestinian perspective on the seemingly intractable Israel-Palestine conflict. Taking aim at the hypocrisy of US policy in the Middle East, Said Arikat said that US support for Israel's brutal oppression of Palestinians is a betrayal of that ideals that Americans claim to uphold. The US routinely holds Arab and other countries to one standard of conduct, while holding the Zionist state to another. For example, he pointed out, US political leaders demand that Palestinians adopt a new constitution, one that is more acceptable to Israel, even though Israel has never had a constitution of any kind.

Robert Countess

In a spirited and sometimes humorous address, Robert Countess took a look at the new anti-revisionist study by Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Countess called van Pelt a "superficial Holocaustian," and said that his life and career "is inextricably bound to his religious philosophy of good and evil, with Auschwitz and Nazis as absolute evil and Jews as representing ultimate goodness." As an example of the mystical outlook that, Countess said, is manifest in this book, he cited van Pelt's statement that "the gas chambers changed the whole meaning of architecture."

Fredrick Töben

In his wide-ranging address spiced with humor and

philosophical insights, the director of the Adelaide Institute, a leading Holocaust revisionist center in Australia, provided a detailed update on his drawn out legal ordeal. Six years ago, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the country's main Jewish community organization, filed a complaint with the federal "Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission," demanding that Dr. Töben remove allegedly "offensive" material from the Adelaide Institute web site. In 2000 the Commission found the material to be "insulting" and "offensive" to Jews, and a violation of the "Racial Discrimination Act." Töben has sought to comply with the ruling, but refuses to issue an apology, as the Jewish group demands. Unable to hire an attorney, Töben been obliged to represent himself in this costly legal battle.

Bradley Smith

One of the most dedicated of revisionist activists, Bradley Smith, traced his intellectual odyssey over the years in a personal, anecdote-filled talk. Referring to his passionate, life-long commitment to free speech, he mentioned, for example, his arrest during the 1950s for selling a book by Henry Miller at his Los Angeles bookstore. Smith spoke about his new, autobiographical work, *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist.*

Canceled Press Coverage

This Conference was not marred by disruption or incident, even though a major local radio station broadcast an excited report about it on June 21. (In 1989 Jewish activist Irv Rubin and his thuggish Jewish Defense League used threats, intimidation and harassment to disrupt the Ninth IHR Conference, forcing it to move from two hotels. This year, Rubin is in jail, pending his trial on charges of preparing a bomb attack against a mosque in Los Angeles and the office in southern California of a US Congressman of Lebanese ancestry.)

Slightly fewer people than usual attended this 14th IHR Conference because it was held on a weekend that unexpectedly caused scheduling conflicts for quite a few regular attendees, and because this year's conference was organized more hastily than usual, which meant that there was less time to publicize and promote it.

Bradley Smith at the podium

A large-circulation local daily paper, the *Orange County Register*, assigned staff writer Barbara Kingsley to cover the Conference. In preparation for her report, she interviewed the IHR Director for two hours, and the paper sent a staff photographer to the IHR office. Kingsley also attended sessions on the opening night and on Saturday. Her report, which was expected to be lengthy and rather fair, was set to run on the Sunday morning edition.

On Saturday evening editor Tonnie Katz read Kingsley's article, and then decided to kill it. Katz' decision not to publish the story, in spite of the time and effort the paper had invested in it, was apparently motivated, at least in part, by concern that it would give positive publicity to the IHR's work and views.

The decision by the *Register* to make no mention whatsoever of the 14th IHR conference is all the more remarkable considering that the last IHR conference — the 13th, in May 2000 — was covered by the rival *Los Angeles Times* in 40-column-inch story, and that even this year's conference was mentioned in the June 14 issue of the *Forward*, a prominent, nationally-circulated Jewish community weekly, in a front-page story about the IHR and its work.

Audio and Video Tapes from the 14th IHR Conference

An Outstanding Line-Up of Speakers!

Welcoming and Concluding Remarks

Greg Raven

Israel's Attack on the USS Liberty

Phillip Tourney

Germans Punished for Mistreating Jews

Robert Faurisson

Greg Raven, MC for the Conference, opens with a witty, upbeat welcome to attendees and speakers. And two days later, he concludes with closing comments. IHR Director Mark Weber also makes some brief welcoming and concluding remarks.

Phillip Tourney was one of 172 seamen wounded in the murderous surprise attack on June 8, 1967, by Israeli warplanes and torpedo boats against the *USS Liberty*, an American intelligence ship in the eastern Mediterranean. With calm earnestness and obvious sincerity, he comments on what he has called "Israel's premeditated, sneak attack, on the *USS Liberty* [which] was a direct attack on America." Tourney, who was awarded the Bronze Star for his heroism under fire, is now President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association. He is also co-producer of a stunning new video about the attack, "The Loss of Liberty" (available separately from the IHR), which he introduces to the Conference.

Robert Faurisson, French professor and leading European revisionist scholar, presents — with his usual flair and exactitude — numerous specific examples of punishments during the Second World War of Germans, by German authorities, for killing or mistreating Jews. Such cases cannot, of course, be reconciled with the familiar "Holocaust" extermination story.

Video (#V137) $19.95
Audio (#A158) $9.95

'For Fear of the Jews'

Joseph Sobran

The Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Palestinian Perspective

Said Arikat

Joseph Sobran, syndicated columnist and author, is in top form in this stimulating banquet address. In this witty and effective critique of the US-Israel "special relationship," he deftly dissects the Zionist state's familiar pretensions, and details how the Holocaust story is used to *justify* support for Israel. Calling himself a "Holocaust stipulator," he praises the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* for its "calm virtue of critical rationality." During the question and answer period he speaks of his years-long relationship with William Buckley and *National Review*, and about how the magazine has changed drastically over the decades.

Said Arikat, a seasoned writer and commentator who has often appeared in American television, gives a moving and insightful Palestinian perspective on the seemingly intractable Israel-Palestine conflict. Taking aim at the hypocrisy of US policy in the Middle East, he says that US support for Israel's brutal oppression of Palestinians is a betrayal of that ideals that Americans claim to uphold.

Video (#V138) $19.95; Audio (#A159) $9.95

Keynote Address: Origins and Impact of Jewish-Zionist Power

New Challenges for Revisionism and the IHR

Mark Weber

In the first of his two conference addresses, the IHR Director warms up by reviewing highlights of the Institute's work and impact since the 13th Conference, including tremendous worldwide media attention garnered for the IHR and revi-

Quality Recordings of Lectures From the World's Foremost Dissident History Research Center

sionism. Most of Weber's keynote address is devoted to a penetrating look at the origins, nature and impact of Jewish-Zionist power. Citing almost exclusively Jewish sources, he stresses the immense power and influence wielded by Jews in today's America. In the address, which was given a standing ovation, he says: "In this new century as well, we pledge to carry on our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity."

In a second address, Weber speaks frankly about the future of the IHR and revisionism. The Holocaust story, he says, has become less socially and politically important in recent years, and especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, people everywhere are showing greater eagerness for truthful information about the origins of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Zionism, Israel, the US-Israel relationship, and the "Jewish question." While stressing that the IHR remains committed to revisionist scholarship on "the Holocaust," he says that broadening the IHR's focus is essential if the Institute is to survive and prosper.

Video (#V139) $19.95; Audio (#A160) $9.95

Tactics of Organized Jewry in Suppressing Free Speech

Tony Martin

History is as History Does

Bradley Smith

Tony Martin, a professor of African studies at Wellesley College, takes a closely reasoned look at the techniques used by Jewish groups to marginalize, discredit and silence those whom they regard as harmful to their interests. He cites numerous specific examples, including outright lying and misrepresentation, use of *ad hominem* and "straw man" arguments, and arranging for pliant stooges to front for Jewish groups. Dr. Martin, who has authored or compiled/edited eleven books, came under tremendous attack from organized Jewry in 1993 because he had included a book on the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in a course he was teaching.

Bradley Smith, one of the most dedicated of revisionist activists, traces his intellectual odyssey over the years in a personal, anecdote-filled talk. He speaks about his new, autobiographical work, *Break His Bones*.

Video (#V140) $19.95; Audio (#A161) $9.95

Mass Killings and Mistreatment of German Prisoners of War and Ethnic Germans in Postwar Yugoslavia

Tom Sunic

Van Pelt's 'Case for Auschwitz'

Robert Countess

Tom Sunic, author and one-time professor of political science in the US, provides a detailed look at the little known mistreatment and mass killings of German prisoners of war and ethnic German civilians in the former Yugoslavia, 1945-1953. Dr. Sunic refers to the network of prison camps in Communist-ruled postwar Yugoslavia, in which many thousands perished.

Robert Countess, in a spirited and sometimes humorous address, takes a look at the new anti-revisionist study by Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Countess calls van Pelt a "superficial Holocaustian," and says that his life and career "is inextricably bound to his religious philosophy of good and evil."

Video (#V141) $19.95
Audio (#A162) $9.95

14th IHR Conference Video and Audio Tapes

Order individual tapes, Or, get the complete set of video tapes for just $87.80 (a $11.95 savings), Or get the complete set of audio tapes for just $43.80 (a $5.95 savings), and we'll include a handsome, durable holder — free! Shipping for any number of tapes is $2.50 in the USA ($4.50 foreign)

Institute for Historical Review • P.O. Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

'For Fear of The Jews'

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The news that I would be addressing the Institute of Historical Review came to some people as, well, news. It was mentioned in the Jewish newspaper *Forward* [June 14] and on the Zionist *Wall Street Journal OnLine*. The editors of two conservative magazines called and wrote me to express their concern that I might damage my reputation, such as it is, by speaking to "Holocaust deniers."

I'm not sure why this should matter. Even positing that I was speaking to a disreputable audience, I expect to be judged by what I say, not whom I say it to. I note that my enemies have written a great deal about me, yet they rarely quote me directly.

Why not? If I am so disreputable myself, I must at least occasionally say disreputable things. Is it possible that what I say is more cogent than they like to admit?

My enemies are always are welcome to quote anything I say, if they dare. I would say the same things to them, and they may consider my remarks to the IHR as addressed to them too. I wasn't just speaking to "Holocaust deniers," but also to Holocaust believers.

Because I've endured smears and ostracism for my criticism of Israel and its American lobby, some people credit me with courage. I'm flattered, of course, but this compliment, whether or not I deserve it, implies that it's professionally dangerous for a journalist to criticize Israel. That tells you a lot.

But if I'm "courageous," what do you call Mark Weber and the Institute for Historical Review? They have been smeared far worse than I have; moreover, they have been seriously threatened with death. Their offices have been firebombed. Do they at least get credit for courage? Not at all. They remain almost universally vilified.

When I met Mark, many years ago, I expected to meet a raving Jew-hating fanatic, such being the generic reputation of "Holocaust deniers." I was immediately and subsequently impressed to find that he was just the opposite: a mild-mannered, good-humored, witty, scholarly man who habitually spoke with restraint and measure, even about enemies who would love to see him dead. The same is true of other members of the Institute. In my many years of acquaintance with them, I have never heard any of them say anything that would strike an unprejudiced listener as unreasonable or bigoted.

It was their enemies who were raving, hate-filled fanatics, unable to discuss "Holocaust deniers" in measured language, without wild hyperbole, loose accusation, and outright lies. I began to wonder: if they can't tell the truth about "Holocaust deniers," how can they tell the truth about the Holocaust itself?

Even if the Holocaust had really happened, as I assumed, maybe it should be studied with a critical rationality most of its believers obviously lacked. After all, even Stalin's crimes might be exaggerated, quite understandably, by his victims. As Milton puts it, "Let truth and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put

---

Joseph Sobran is an author, lecturer and nationally syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for National Review magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter Sobran's (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see http://www.sobran.com/). This article is adapted from his address at the 14th IHR Conference, June 22, 2002, in Irvine, California. It is published in the August 2002 issue of Sobran's newsletter.

to the worse in a free and open encounter?" Even those in error might have something to say, some marginal clarification to offer. Why stop our ears against them?

Why on earth is it "anti-Jewish" to conclude from the evidence that the standard numbers of Jews murdered are inaccurate, or that the Hitler regime, bad as it was in many ways, was not, in fact, intent on racial extermination? Surely these are controversial conclusions; but if so, let the controversy rage. There is no danger in permitting it to proceed. It might be different if denying the Holocaust could somehow affect the course of events, as the denial of Stalin's crimes by the *New York Times* in the 1930s helped him to continue committing them. Why is the Institute for Historical Review notorious, while the *Times*, despite its active support of Stalin at the height of his power, remains a pillar of respectability?

Joseph Sobran

The Holocaust has never been a consuming interest of mine. But as I read the *Journal of Historical Review* over the years, I found in it the same calm virtue of critical rationality I'd found in Mark himself. And it was applied to many other subjects besides the question of whether Hitler had tried to exterminate the Jews. An article it carried about Abraham Lincoln some years ago caused me to revise my entire view of Lincoln and stimulated me to write a book about him. [Robert Morgan, "Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993.]

The IHR's mission can't be fairly summed up as "Holocaust denial." Its real mission is criticism of the suffocating progressive ideology that has infected and distorted the telling of history in our time. But of course its specific skepticism of the standard Holocaust story is regarded as blasphemy, and has earned it the dreaded epithet of anti-Semitism.

Not long ago the only label more lethal to one's reputation was that of child molester, but, as many men of the cloth are now discovering, there is this difference: a child molester may hope for a second chance.

There is also another difference. We have a pretty clear idea what child molestation is. Nobody really knows what "anti-Semitism" is. My old boss Bill Buckley wrote an entire book called *In Search of Anti-Semitism* without bothering to define anti-Semitism.

At the time I thought this was an oversight. I was wrong. The word would lose its utility if it were defined. As I observed in my own small contribution to the book, an "anti-Semite" used to mean a man who hated Jews. Now it means a man who is hated by Jews.

I doubt, in fact I can't imagine, that anyone associated with the IHR has ever done harm to another human being because he was Jewish. In fact the IHR has never been accused of anything but thought-crimes.

The same is true of me. Nobody has ever accused me of the slightest personal indecency to a Jew. My chief offense, it appears, has been to insist that the state of Israel has been a costly and treacherous "ally" to the United States. As of last September 11, I should think that is undeniable. But I have yet to receive a single apology for having been correct.

If I were to hate Jews *en masse*, without distinction, I would be guilty of many things. Obviously I'd be guilty of injustice and uncharity to Jews as human beings. I would also be guilty of willful stupidity. More personally, I'd be guilty of ingratitude to my benefactors — which Dante, in his Inferno, ranks the worst of all sins — since many of my benefactors, in large ways and small, have been Jewish.

Moreover, I would be becoming exactly the man my Zionist enemies would like me to be; a man like them, in whom ethnic hostilities take priority over all other values and considerations. I would justify them in treating me as an enemy. In fact I'd go so far as to say that I would be helping to justify the state of Israel. I consider that if I fight these people on their terms, they have already won.

What, exactly, is "anti-Semitism"? One standard dictionary definition is "hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious or racial group." How this applies to me has never been explained. My "hostility" toward Israel is a desire not for war, but for neutrality — out of a sense of betrayal, waste, and shame. Our venal politicians have aligned us with a foreign country that behaves dishonorably. Most alleged "anti-Semites" would wince if Jews anywhere were treated as Israel treats its Arab subjects. Moreover, Israel has repeatedly betrayed its only benefactor, the United States. I have already alluded to the place Dante reserves for those who betray their benefactors.

These are obvious moral facts. Yet it's not only politicians who are afraid to point them out; so are most journalists — the people who are supposed to be independent enough to say the things politicians can't afford to say. In my thirty years in journalism, nothing

has amazed me more than the prevalent fear in the profession of offending Jews, especially Zionist Jews.

The fear of the label anti-Semitic is a fear of the power that is believed to lie behind it: Jewish power. Yet this is still pretty much unmentionable in journalism. It's rather as if sportswriters covering pro basketball were prohibited from mentioning that the Los Angeles Lakers were in first place.

There has been a qualitative change that is downright eerie in American conservatism generally. The "fear of the Jews," to use the phrase so often repeated in the Gospel according to John, seems to have wrought a reorientation of the tone, the very principles, of today's conservatism. The hardy skepticism, critical intelligence, and healthy irony of men like James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and the young Buckley have given way to the uncritical philo-Semitism of George Will, Cal Thomas, Rush Limbaugh, and of course the later Buckley — men who will go to any lengths, even absurd and dishonorable lengths, to avoid the terrorizing label anti-Semite.

It was once considered "anti-Semitic" to impute "dual loyalty" to Jews — that is, to assert that most American Jews divide their loyalty between the United States and Israel. This is now passé. Today most politicians assume, as a matter of course, that Israel commands the primary loyalty of Jewish voters. Are they accused of "anti-Semitism" for doing so? Does this assumption cost them Jewish votes? Not at all! Dual loyalty nothing! Dual loyalty would be an improvement!

Once again, it's a practical necessity to know what it would be professional suicide to say. No politician in his right mind would accuse Jews of giving their primary loyalty to Israel; but most politicians act as if this were the case. And they succeed.

You can read Jewish publications like Commentary for years, and you'll read interminable discussions about what's good for Israel, but you'll never encounter the slightest suggestion that what's good for Israel might not be good for America. The possibility simply never comes up. The only discernible duty of Jews, it seems, is to look out for Israel. They never have to choose between Israel and the United States. So much for the "canard" of dual loyalty.

I've often noticed how eager and desperate mainstream conservatives are to avoid Jewish wrath. Again, they don't just speak favorably of Israel: they refuse to acknowledge any cost to American interests in the U.S.-Israel alliance. They treat the two countries' interests as identical; when they scold either government, it's always — always — the U.S. Government for failing to support our "reliable ally. They are in headlong flight from reality. They have none of the realism of James Burnham, whose writings and style of thought would be wholly unwelcome in today's conservative movement.

They are frightened. You can sense this in their bluster, in the vicarious jingoism with which they address Israel. Their fear produces a peculiar intellectual thinness that pervades all their thinking on foreign policy. Individualists have been replaced by apparatchiks. Zionism has infiltrated conservatism in much the same way Communism once infiltrated liberalism.

Here I should lay my own cards on the table. I am not, heaven forbid, a "Holocaust denier." I lack the scholarly competence to be one. I don't read German, so I can't assess the documentary evidence; I don't know chemistry, so I can't discuss Zyklon-B; I don't understand the logistics of exterminating millions of people in small spaces. Besides, "Holocaust denial" is illegal in many countries I may want to visit someday. For me, that's proof enough. One Israeli writer has expressed his amazement at the idea of criminalizing opinions about historical fact., and I find it puzzling too; but the state has spoken.

Of course those who affirm the Holocaust need know nothing about the German language, chemistry, and other pertinent subjects; they need only repeat what they have been told by the authorities. In every controversy, most people care much less for what the truth is than for which side it's safer and more respectable to take. They shy away from taking a position that is likely to get them into trouble. Just as only people on the Axis side were accused of war crimes after World War II, only people critical of Jewish interests are accused of thought-crimes in today's mainstream press.

So, life being as short as it is, I shy away from this controversy. Of course I'm also incompetent to judge whether the Holocaust did happen; so I've become what might be called a "Holocaust stipulator." Like a lawyer who doesn't want to get bogged down debating a secondary point, I stipulate that the standard account of the Holocaust is true. What is undisputed — the massive violation of human rights in Hitler's Germany — is bad enough.

What interests me is the growth of what Norman Finkelstein has called "the Holocaust Industry." True or not, the Holocaust story has been put to many uses, some of them mischievous. It is currently being used to extort reparations and to blacken reputations, for

example. Daniel Goldhagen is soon to publish a book blaming the Holocaust on the central teachings of the Catholic Church. This is only the most ambitious project of a school of thought, largely but not exclusively Jewish, that sees Christianity as the source of all "anti-Semitism."

So if you want to avoid being called "anti-Semitic," the safest course is to renounce Christianity. Whether this is a safe course for your immortal soul is a question Goldhagen doesn't address. The important thing is to avoid Jewish censure. Obviously this sort of thinking presupposes Christian fear of the Jews. Jews themselves are not unaware of Jewish power; some of them have rather exaggerated confidence in it.

But the chief use of the Holocaust story is to undergird the legitimacy of the state of Israel. According to this view, the Holocaust proves that Jewish existence is always in danger, unless the Jews have their own state in their own homeland. The Holocaust stands as the historical objectification of all the world's gentiles' eternal "anti-Semitism." Jewish life is an endless emergency, requiring endless emergency measures arid justifying everything done in the name of "defense." Jews and Israel can't be judged by in normal standards, at least until Israel is absolutely safe — if even then. Their circumstances are forever abnormal.

But the daily news reports suggest that Israel may not really be the safest place for Jews. Theodore Herzl's original dream was of a Jewish state where Jews could at last live the normal lives they were denied in the Diaspora. Yet today it's Diaspora Jews who live relatively normal lives, at least in the West, while they must worry about the very survival of Israel. And far from being the independent state Herzl hoped for, Israel depends heavily on the support not only of Diaspora Jews but of foreign gentiles, especially Americans.

Israel insists that its "right to exist" is nothing more than the right of every nation on earth to be left in peace. This right is allegedly threatened by fanatical Arabs who want to "drive the Jews into the sea," as witness the recent wave of Palestinian terror. But in truth, Israel's claimed "right to exist" is much more than it seems at first sight. It means a right to rule as Jews, enjoying rights denied to native Palestinians.

We are told incessantly that Israel is a "democracy," and therefore the natural ally of the United States, whose "democratic values" it shares. This is a very dubious claim. To Americans, democracy means majority rule, but with equal rights for minorities. In Israel and the occupied territories, equal rights for the minority are simply out of the question.

Majority rule itself has taken a peculiar form in Israel. The original Arab majority was driven out of their homes and their native land, and kept out. Meanwhile, a Jewish "majority" was artificially imported. Not only the first immigrants from Eastern Europe, but every Jew on earth was granted a "right of return" — that is, "return" to a "homeland" most have never lived in, and in which none of their ancestors has ever lived. A Jew from Brooklyn (whose grandfather came from Poland) can fly to Israel and immediately claim rights denied to an Arab whose people have always lived in Palestine. In recent years Israel has been augmenting its Jewish majority by vigorously encouraging Jewish immigration, especially from Russia. Ariel Sharon has told a group of American senators that Israel needs a million more Jewish immigrants.

Israel rejects demands for a "right of return" for Palestinians exiled since 1948. Its reason? This would mean "the end of the Jewish state." An Arab majority would surely vote down Jewish ethnic privileges. If Israel remained democratic, it wouldn't long remain Jewish. It must be the only "democracy" whose existence depends on inequality.

American gentiles, bemused by the propaganda claim that a beleaguered little democracy is fighting for its very right to exist, still haven't figured out that Israeli "democracy" is essentially and radically different from — even repugnant to — what they understand as democracy. Put otherwise, Zionism is a denial of the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence. To acknowledge those truths, and to put them into practice, would mean the end of Israel as a Jewish state. Again, honest and rigorous Zionists have always seen and said this.

With the verbal sleight-of-hand at which they are masters, the Israelis always appeal to the Holocaust. Maybe they have nuclear weapons, but their existence is threatened — once more! — by rock-throwing Arab boys. The Arabs are the new Nazis, repeating and perpetuating the eternal peril of the Jews. Israel is determined to prevent another Holocaust and must crush the Arab threat by any means necessary, including harsh measures.

Israel without the Holocaust is hard to imagine. But let's try to imagine it.

Suppose the Holocaust had never occurred, had never been alleged, had never been called "the Holocaust." Imagine that no great persecution had provided the Jewish state with a special excuse for oppressive emergency measures. In other words, imagine that Israel were forced to justify itself like any other state.

In that case, Israel's treatment of its Arab minorities would appear to the world in a very different light. Its denial of equal or even basic rights to those minorities would lack the excuse of a past or prospective "Holocaust." Civilized people would expect it to treat those it ruled with impartial justice. Special privileges for Jews would appear as outrageous discrimination, no different from insulting legal discrimination against Jews. The sense — and excuse — of perpetual crisis would be absent. Israel might be forced or pressured, possibly against its will, to be "normal." If it chose to be democratic, its Jews would have to take their chance of being outnumbered, just like majorities in other democracies. Nobody would suppose that losing elections would mean their annihilation.

In short, the Holocaust has become a device for exempting Jews from normal human obligations. It has authorized them to bully and blackmail, to extort and oppress. This is all quite irrational, because even if six million Jews were murdered during World War II, the survivors are not entitled to commit the slightest injustice. If your father was stabbed in the street, that's a pity, but it's not an excuse for picking someone else's pocket.

In a peculiar way, the Holocaust story has promoted not only pity, but actual fear of the Jews. It has removed them from the universe of normal moral discourse. It has made them victims with nukes. It has made them even more dangerous than their enemies have always charged. It has given the world an Israel ruled by Ariel Sharon.

Benjamin Netanyahu has written that Israel is "an integral part of the West." I think it would be truer to say that Israel has become a deformed limb of the West.

Corrections

In the March-April 2002 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 21, No. 2), on page 5, right (second) column, fourth paragraph, the single sentence there should read "When Sullivan was pressed to provide evidence for his assertions, he was unable or unwilling to do so."

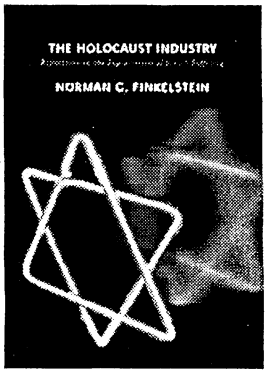
On page 27, a sentence in the first paragraph, left (first) column, should begin "Mead claimed that Samoan adolescents were ..."

"The first casualty when war comes is truth."
— Senator Hiram Johnson, 1917

NEW!

A Jewish Scholar's Explosive Assault on the Holocaust 'Extortion Racket'

Just who benefits from the seemingly perpetual Holocaust campaign? In this passionate but thoroughly researched and closely argued new book, a American Jewish scholar nails the "Holocaust industry" as a "racket" that serves narrow Jewish interests, above all the interests of Israel and powerful Jewish-Zionist organizations.



"Organized American Jewry has exploited the Nazi holocaust to deflect criticism of Israel's and its own morally indefensible policies," charges author Norman Finkelstein The Holocaust campaign serves "to deligitimize all criticism of Jews."

This powerful book takes aim at the sanctimonious Elie Wiesel and other Holocaust "secular saints," and debunks such Holocaust hoaxers as Jerzy Kosinksi and Binjamin Wilkomirski. "Given the nonsense churned out daily by the Holocaust industry, the wonder is that there are so few skeptics," writes Finkelstein.

He exposes the "double shakedown" – the extortion by powerful Jewish groups of billions from European countries, and the betrayal by these groups of actual wartime Jewish victims "In recent years," says Finkelstein, "the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket ... The Holocaust may yet turn out to be the 'greatest robbery in the history of mankind'."

An important book that has already unleashed a heated but serious debate in Europe!

The Holocaust Industry
by Norman G. Finkelstein
Paperback. Dust jacket. 150 pages.
Source references. (#0521) $13, *plus shipping.*

IHR
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
PO BOX 2739 · NEWPORT BEACH, CA 92659 · USA
FAX (949) 631-0981 · HTTP://WWW.IHR.ORG

Israel's 'Knife in the Back' Attack Against America

PHILLIP TOURNEY

Here is the text of the open letter by Phillip Tourney, President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association, published in a full-page advertisement in the daily Washington Times, June 6, 2002 (p. A11).

U.S.S. LIBERTY VETERANS ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 1887, Washington, DC 20013-1887

June 1, 2002

President George W. Bush
Commander in Chief, White House
Washington, D.C.

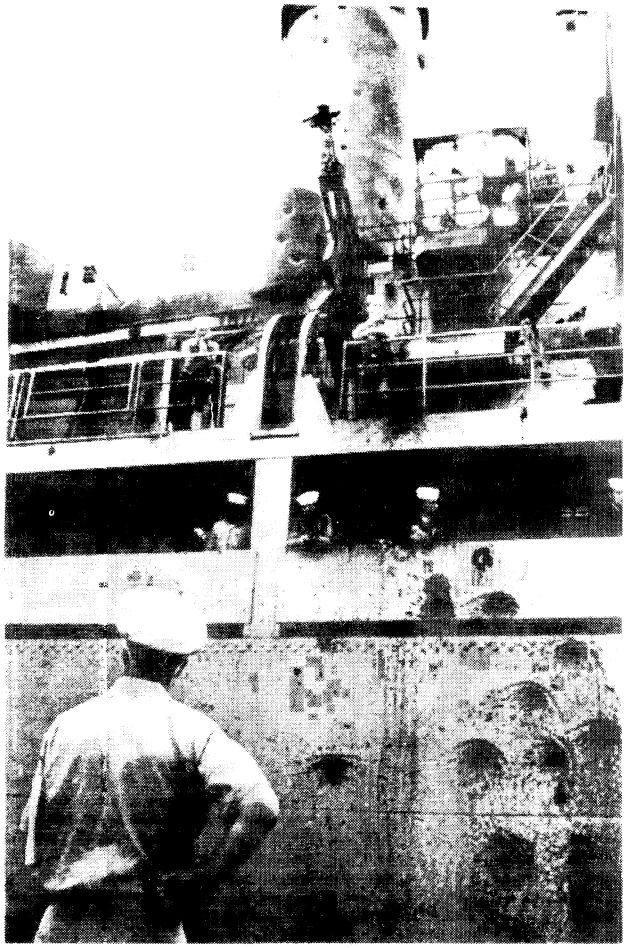
Dear Mr. President,

Saturday, June 8, 2002 marks the 35th anniversary of probably the most shameful day in American history. That day America's banner and honor were treacherously trashed by our so-called ally, Israel. Thirty-four Americans were brutally slaughtered, 172 wounded, including myself. America's most sophisticated intelligence ship was so badly damaged it had to be scrapped. Israel deliberately attacked America's virtually unarmed *USS Liberty* in international waters, knowing full well our identity, in an assault that lasted as long as the attack on Pearl Harbor.

On that bright, sunny, infamous day, the *Liberty* had a large American flag flapping in the wind and ten foot high I.D. markings on her hull, which were clearly visible during the full six hours (6:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon) that low-flying, slow-moving, propeller recons, distinctly marked with Stars of David, reconnoitered our ship. Overheard radio transmission of the pilots confirmed that the Israel had positively identified the *Liberty* as American.

Phil Tourney, addressing the 14th IHR Conference, June 21, 2002, holds up the full-page newspaper ad with his open letter to President Bush.

Suddenly at 2:00 p.m., the government of Israel put a knife in the back of America. In a diabolic attempt at deception, the Israelis began the attack with unmarked jet fighters using rockets, cannons, and napalm on our unprotected ship. Then three motor torpedo boats arrived on the scene and fired six torpedoes at us, one hitting its mark, midship on the starboard side, instantly blowing to bits 25 of America's finest young men. The torpedo gunmen shot at our firefighters and stretcher-bearers, using us as target practice, maiming and murdering as many of America's sons as they could.



The *USS Liberty* a few days after the June 8, 1967, attack by Israeli war planes and torpedo boats. Although it was flying a large American flag, the US Navy intelligence ship was repeatedly attacked by Zionist forces, killing 34 and wounding 172 of the crew of 294. The vessel was scarred by napalm, a torpedo explosion at the water line, 3,000 armor-piercing bullets, and 851 rockets. Israeli machine-gun fire destroyed the ship's life rafts.

The captain ordered us to prepare to abandon ship, as the ship was in grave danger of sinking from a torpedo hit that left a 40 foot by 40 foot hole in her. There were only three life rafts left that they hadn't already destroyed. We put them over the side to put as many wounded in as possible. The torpedo boats machine gunned the life rafts and sank two of them and took one aboard their boat — no survivors were to be taken! Helicopters were overhead to board our ship with Israeli commandos at the ready to finish us off.

Responding to an S.O.S. from the *Liberty*, the *USS Saratoga* launched their jets approximately 15 minutes into the vicious Israeli attack. Within minutes after the launch, incredibly and inexplicably, Washington shamefully and unconscionably recalled the jets, abandoning helpless American sailors under fire, and subjecting them to an additional two hours of barbaric Israeli bombardment and butchery.

Fortuitously, when the Israelis picked up an invalid message that U.S. help was on the way, Israel reluctantly was forced to terminate its ongoing assault. Without that break, I would not be alive writing this letter.

Ironically, help did not arrive until 18 hours after the attack, when it was only 15 minutes away. When an American rescue ship finally arrived, what they found was shocking: the *Liberty* was in shambles, death on the water. There were 821 rocket and cannon holes in her hull, thousands of 50 caliber armor-piercing bullets riddling her skin, a tunnel size torpedo cavity in her broad side, and the residue of napalm that had been dropped to burn us up. Blood and body parts were strewn across the deck. A sad, outrageous story, but unfortunately true.

The crew of the most decorated naval ship in American history was ordered to remain silent under threat of court martial, imprisonment or worse, and we all knew what worst meant. The U.S. government has never challenged the obviously phony Israeli excuse of "mistaken identity," nor have they attempted to expose the dishonorable cover-up that continues to date. Truth and America's honor were ignominiously sacrificed to provide cover for Israel's transparent lies and despicable act of perfidy.

Israel's premeditated, sneak attack on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America. The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous.

Mr. President, on behalf of the courageous crew of the *USS Liberty*, dead and alive, I respectfully request that you commission a presidential panel to finally investigate the attack and cover-up of the *USS Liberty*, and report the truth to the American people.

Thank you, Mr. President. God bless you! God bless America!

Respectfully,
Phillip F. Tourney, President
USS Liberty Veterans Association

Israeli Attack on the *Liberty* Was No Accident: An Interview with James Ennes

Question: When did you join the *USS Liberty* and what position did you serve on June 8, 1967?

Answer: I joined the ship in April 1967. I was a lieutenant and was assigned to be the ship's Electronic Materiel Officer, responsible for the maintenance and repair of all of the ship's electronic equipment. I also stood watches on the bridge as Officer of the Deck.

Q: There have been many cases of "friendly fire" and misidentification in wartime. Unlike other cases, the attack on the *USS Liberty* has lingered for 35 years and still remains unresolved. Israelis claim that the attack on the *Liberty* was also a case of mistaken identity, and that they misidentified the *Liberty* for an Egyptian horse carrier, *El Quseir.* One of the reasons that they present for their argument is that the attacking jets circled the ship three times looking for a flag, but no flag was flown. Do you agree with that statement?

A: "Friendly fire" is a brief, accidental attack. This was a prolonged, carefully coordinated attack. It has been called the most carefully planned "accident" in the history of warfare. The Israeli account of the attack is untrue. We flew a flag at all times, and it stood out clearly displayed in a good breeze. Israeli jets circled us 13 times during the several hours before the attack, and during that period we heard their pilots informing their headquarters by radio that we were American. When the attack started, the attacking jets passed high overhead once, then turned 180 degrees and came down the centerline firing without any attempt to identify us. Long after the attack I was contacted by an Israeli pilot who told me that on his first flight over the ship he saw our American flag and informed his headquarters that we were American, but was told to ignore the flag and attack anyway. He refused to do so and returned to base where he was arrested. I was told by an Israeli in the war room that they knew we were American. I have been told by several American intelligence analysts who read, or in some cases heard, the messages between the pilots and their headquarters that these messages make it very clear that the pilots and their headquarters knew we were American.

Q: You have written a book titled *Assault on the Liberty.* What are some of the most convincing reasons or evidences you presented in that book to prove that the Israelis knowingly attacked the *Liberty*?

A: Among other things, the extensive reconnaissance, the fact that the attack continued for 75 minutes, and the fact that they compiled a totally false account of what happened. After the torpedo explosion the torpedo boats examined our name in English on the stern and our American flag on the mast from less than 50 feet away, and continued to fire from close range for another 40 minutes. As US Secretary of State Dean Rusk said later, an accident may occur for a *few minutes*, but there is no way our very distinctive-looking

---

James M. Ennes was serving as a US Navy lieutenant on board the *USS Liberty* when it was attacked by Israeli forces on June 8, 1967. He is the author of *Assault on the Liberty,* a detailed account of the attack published in 1980 by Random House. Born in 1933 and now retired, he served with the US Navy during most of his adult life.
This interview, published in the Iranian newspaper *Jam-e-Jam,* July 27, 2002, was conducted by Ali Jafar. The text is posted on-line at http://www.usliberty.org/jamejam.txt

ship could have been fired upon for 75 minutes from close range without it being recognized as American.

In the hours after the attack a "consensus report" was written reflecting the view of all American intelligence agencies that the attack was deliberate. This report was circulated, but was withdrawn and cancelled and all copies destroyed because it was too embarrassing politically to be allowed to stand.

James Ennes

Q: Being small in size and population, Israelis have always relied on spying to get intelligence information. They have spied on many Arab and non-Arab countries including the US. In October 1954 quite a few of the Israeli spies were arrested and two of them were executed in Egypt. Elias Cohen was the Israeli spy who was caught in 1965, and later executed in Syria, and I am sure you know about Jonathan Pollard, the Israeli spy whose spying activities cost the lives of America's most loyal and best agents in the Communist world. Generally speaking, how could the Israelis not have known that *El Quesir* was not even there?

A: They could not have made such a mistake. Israeli naval officer have told me they are embarrassed by the claim that they could been so incompetent as to make such a mistake.

Q: It has been reported that after the *Liberty* radioed for help, two aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean responded by launching fighter aircraft, but they were recalled before reaching their destination to help the *Liberty*. Can you tell us who gave the orders, and why they were recalled?

A: Secretary Robert McNamara ordered the recall of rescue aircraft. He has refused to discuss the matter. The recall order was confirmed by President Lyndon Johnson. President Johnson later said that he would not risk shooting down Israeli aircraft, even if Americans died as a result.

Q: Quite often the American government is referred to as a "government of the people, for the people, by the people." In 1967 your responsible officials, by recalling the launched aircraft, left you practically unprotected, and since then, your government not only blocked every effort to launch an investigation, but in fact did everything it could, to cover it up for 35 years. Is there any doubt in your mind that the very government, that you put your life on the line to protect, betrayed you and your shipmates?

A: Someone in our government certainly failed to protect us after promising that we would be protected.

Q: There are certain motives behind any crime that is committed. If indeed, as you believe, the Israeli attack on the *Liberty* was premeditated, what was their motive for attacking the *Liberty*?

A: The *USS Liberty* was an intelligence ship. Clearly someone in Israel feared that we would learn something that Israel did not want the US to know. Some American intelligence experts have said that they believe this was the pending invasion of Syria to capture the Golan Heights.

Q: In recent years an impressive number of American officials, including Admiral Thomas Moorer, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) at the time of the *Liberty* incident, have gone on record insisting that the Israeli action was, in fact, deliberate. Are you optimistic that after 35 years of cover up, the truth may finally come out?

A: No. I fear that Israel has so many friends in the Congress and the White House that no effective investigation is ever likely to be conducted. But we can continue to report the facts so that the world may learn the truth. In 1956 President Eisenhower forced the Israelis to cease their advance toward Suez. This was still a bitter memory in Israel in 1967. The Israelis did not want to risk having to withdraw from the Golan Heights as they had from Suez, so they disabled the *USS Liberty* in the hope that the US could be kept in the dark until the Heights were in Israeli hands.

This week a *Navy Times* survey of its readers showed that about 90 percent support a call for a new investigation of the attack. Yet few members of Congress are likely to support an inquiry, as it would certainly prove embarrassing to Israel.

Q: Generally speaking, in an incident like the *Liberty* attack, one would feel that the most valuable, viable and valid sources of information would be people such as yourself, who were present on the battlefield on June 8, 1967. A. Jay Cristol, a pro-Israeli federal judge and one of the most outspoken critics of the *Liberty* story, is the author of a book titled *The Liberty Incident*. He supposedly has done extensive research, and has interviewed many of the survivors. It has been reported that you refused to cooperate with him. Was there any particular reason that caused you not to cooperate?

A: After a brief telephone conversation, I did not trust him to treat the subject fairly or objectively. His dissertation and his later book proved that judgment to

be valid, in that he has distorted many of the facts.

For instance, his book makes much of what he claims is the visual acuity of fighter pilots, yet experienced pilots tell me that pilots can see much more than Cristol claims, and could easily have seen our flag. Cristol discounts as untrue the unanimous eyewitness reports of American survivors, but accepts as true virtually every false claim by the Israelis. He relies upon the Court of Inquiry, which is itself false and has been discredited by its own legal counsel. He claims *Liberty*'s radio intercept range was only 25 miles, which is dead wrong. He claims the *Liberty* had no radio telephone contact with Washington, which is untrue. He claims only a few survivors regard the attack as deliberate, yet the truth is that survivors are unanimous in calling the attack deliberate. He claims our radios were not jammed, when even the corrupt Court of Inquiry says they were. He claims he came to Seattle to interview me, and that I broke a promise to see him, which is untrue. In fact, he had asked only to talk to me by telephone during a layover in Seattle, and I chose not to take the call because I realized that his intent was to try to discredit us, not to report our story objectively.

In fact, Cristol claims to have made numerous trips to Israel and to have interviewed over 200 people for his book, but his research is very unbalanced, drawing primarily from Israeli sources while ignoring or discounting most eyewitness reports. He has interviewed few survivors, and those only very briefly. He brands *Liberty*'s senior intercept officer a liar, yet made no attempt to interview him. His research appears to be aimed entirely at attempting to discredit survivors, not to investigate the attack objectively. He claims to be the world's foremost expert on the attack, but I have never heard from a survivor who believes he can be taken seriously.

Q: Upon returning to the US, the *Liberty* crew members were ordered and in fact threatened to be silent. Who gave the order and why?

A: Survivors were visited in hospitals all over the US by many different officers and warned to be quiet. Aboard the ship, Admiral Kidd called men together in groups and warned them never to talk about the attack with anyone, not even their wives and mothers, or risk being sent to prison.

Q: In November of 1979 the Iranian students in protest to the US government policy of letting the former Shah of Iran in the US for medical treatment, stormed the US embassy in Tehran and held 52 American hostage for 444 days. ABC news almost immediately launched a new [television] program by the name of "Nightline," with correspondent Ted Koppel reporting on the condition of the hostages as well as the developments of the story itself, night by night. The title of the nightly report was: "The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage." As I am sure you know, the hostages finally came home safe and sound, and were given a hero's welcome, and "Nightline" has continued its special reports on important events, including many interviews with former hostages. By comparison, the brutal and tragic Israeli attack on the *USS Liberty*, in which 34 innocent young Americans were killed and 171 others were badly wounded, is something that most Americans, who are well-informed about President Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, may not even be aware that it ever took place. You know, Mr. Ennes, one wonders why there wasn't a similar program like "Nightline" launched for the *Liberty* and her survivors? What would have been wrong if ABC news had a nightly report with a title such as "The Middle East Crisis: Israeli Attack on the *USS Liberty*"? It seems as if the mainstream mass media had a tacit agreement with the US government to keep the public in dark about the *Liberty* and the plight of its survivors. Don't you feel that they have acted very selectively, and in fact unfairly, in regards to the *Liberty* incident?

A: There is much opposition in this country to this story being told. Ted Koppel is an interesting case. In 1982 Ted Koppel invited several survivors to his studios in Washington, DC, where we filmed a full report on the attack. It was edited and scheduled for broadcast, and then on the very day it was to be broadcast Israel invaded Lebanon, and that bigger story replaced the *Liberty* story. Later, when broadcasters planned to present the *Liberty* show, the films had mysteriously vanished from the file room, never to be found.

Q: Jean-Paul Sartre, the famous French philosopher, has said, and I quote, "Man is a product of time and place." By reading chapter six of your book, one can see that on June 8, 1967, you experienced perhaps the worst day of your life. The political officials who were supposed to help you, betrayed you. The president and military officials who were supposed to rescue you and your shipmates, recalled the aircraft and left you unprotected against the attacking Israeli jets. The mass media, which was supposed to give extensive coverage to the Liberty and the plight of its survivors, has acted with deafening silence, and finally, taking your experience with A. Jay Cristol into consideration, one could say that the pen that should have elicited the facts and told the truth, has distorted it. Can you please tell us how the *Liberty* incident has affected your life?

New 'Official' Changes in the Auschwitz Story

MARK WEBER

Since the end of World War II, authoritative claims about the character and scope of killings at the Auschwitz concentration camp have changed drastically. One particularly striking change concerns the various "official" estimates of the number of victims — a number that since 1945 has been steadily declining.

Today, more than half a century after the end of the war, the process of "establishment" revisionism still continues. It finds recent expression in a lengthy article, "The Number of Auschwitz Victims," published in the May 2002 issue of the scholarly German journal *Osteuropa*, issued by the prestigious Society for Eastern European Studies. The article is written by Fritjof Meyer, a respected foreign policy analyst, author of several books, and managing editor of Germany's foremost weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*.[1]

Drastic Reductions

The Auschwitz camp complex, located in what is now south-central Poland, was set up by German authorities in 1940. Large numbers of Jews were deported there between 1942 and mid-1944. The main camp, or *Stammlager*, was known as Auschwitz I. Birkenau, or Auschwitz II, is regarded as the main extermination center.

At the postwar International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1945-1946), the victorious Allied powers charged that the Germans exterminated four million people at Auschwitz. This figure, which was given in a report produced by a Soviet government commission, was uncritically accepted for many years, and often appeared in major American newspapers and magazines.[2]

Fritjof Meyer

Other figures, both higher and lower, were sometimes also claimed during the decades after the end of World War II.[3]

One of the most widely read books on the German wartime camp system is a detailed study written shortly after the end of the war by former Buchenwald inmate Eugen Kogon. This much-praised work, published in the United States under the title *The Theory and Practice of Hell*, reports that at Auschwitz alone there were "at least 3,500,000 victims, probably 4,500,000."[4]

The 1955 French documentary film "Night and Fog," which is still widely shown in France, and has been seen by many in the United States, claims that nine million people lost their lives in Auschwitz.[5]

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer writes that Gerald Reitlinger, a prominent Jewish specialist of this subject, estimated in his 1953 book *The Final Solution*, that a total of one million people perished in Auschwitz, of whom as many as 750,000 were murdered by gas.[6]

Until 1989, notes Meyer, it was forbidden in eastern Europe to dispute the official finding that four million were killed at Auschwitz. At the Auschwitz State Museum, staff members who expressed doubts about this figure were threatened with disciplinary measures. In 1989 Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer said that it is time to finally acknowledge that the familiar four million figure is a deliberate myth.[7] In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum, a Polish government agency, along with Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center, announced that altogether perhaps one million

people (both Jews and non-Jews) died at Auschwitz.[8]

Franciszek Piper, director of the Auschwitz State Museum, in an essay published in a semi-official 1994 American anthology, put the number of Auschwitz victims at 1.1 million.[9] More or less consistent with that, prominent American newspapers in recent months have been telling readers that "more than a million" Jews lost their lives at Auschwitz.[10]

In a book published in 1994, the French anti-revisionist writer Jean-Claude Pressac estimated 631,000 to 711,000 deaths at Auschwitz, of which 470,000 to 550,000 were from gassing.[11]

In his recent *Osteuropa* article, Fritjof Meyer presents a further revision downwards. He writes: "These considerations are the basis for the conclusion here that in Auschwitz half a million people were murdered, about 356,000 of them with gas." Similarly, Meyer ends his article by concluding that 510,000 lost their lives in Auschwitz, of whom 356,000 "probably" were killed by gas.

Rudolf Höss as a prisoner of Allied forces, April 1946.

The Höss 'Confessions'

For decades key evidence cited for mass killings at Auschwitz has been the postwar testimony of Rudolf Höss, who was commandant of the camp from May 1940 until December 1943, and again between May and July 1944. Since the end of the war, his statements of March and April 1946, and his testimony in April 1946 as a witness at the main Nuremberg trial, have been widely cited in numerous history books, newspapers, and magazine articles.[12] In those statements, and in that testimony, he declared that three million died at Auschwitz, of whom two and a half million were killed "there by gassing and burning."[13]

In a detailed 1985 essay, Prof. Robert Faurisson established that the Höss "confession" is a false document that was extracted under torture.[14] Fritjof Meyer, echoing arguments and points made 17 years earlier by Faurisson, writes that Höss' "confession" was wrung out of him after "three days of sleep deprivation, torture, beatings after every answer, being held naked, and forcibly intoxicated," and, finally, with the use of a whip.

Martin Broszat's Deceit

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer refers to the deceit of Martin Broszat, one of Germany's most prominent postwar historians. From 1972 until his death in 1989 Broszat was deputy director, and then director of Germany's semi-official Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. "The unreliability of Höss' million-large figures," writes Meyer, "is so serious that Martin Broszat simply left out some of them in the publication of the Höss papers that he edited."

Specifically, Meyer notes, Broszat deleted from Höss' "memoir" statements about millions of non-existent Jews who were scheduled for extermination, including "about four million Jews from Romania," as well as "an estimated two and a half million Jews from Bulgaria." In fact, Meyer writes, in 1940 there were only about 342,000 Jews in Romania altogether, and the total number of Jews in Bulgaria, according to more or less reliable estimates, was between 48,000 and some 63,000. Höss had exaggerated the actual number of Jews in Romania by more than ten times, and in Bulgaria by about 50 times.

So far, anyway, no public outcry has arisen against Dr. Broszat, who consciously falsified an important historical document, or against the prestigious scholarly institute he directed. Similarly, no one has yet apologized for this deception — or even demanded that an apology be made.

Downplaying the Birkenau '*Kremas*'

For decades it has been authoritatively claimed that mass killings of Jews were carried out at Auschwitz —

before the end of the war. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gas chamber and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that the majority of the Hungarian Jewish deportees must have survived. Therefore, how does Crowell, who rejects the gas chamber legend, arrive at this impossibly high percentage? In reality, the number of Hungarian Jews who died in the camps can not possibly have exceeded some tens of thousands.

Being well acquainted with the documents, and having remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could make a substantial contribution to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf
[by e-mail]

A Born Skeptic

I am either a propaganda victim, or I'm becoming one. While searching the internet for a good revisionist critique of the Roosevelt/Pearl Harbor controversy, I found "Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy" [Winter 1991-92 *Journal*] — which I thought was useful. I knew nothing of the IHR, or the IHR's views on the Holocaust. When someone on an internet message board pointed out your Holocaust articles to me, I was shocked. And then I read, and read.

One problem I have with your views — other than the obvious fact that, like most everyone else, I have been heavily indoctrinated with "exterminationism" — is your seeming lack of concern for the cruel and inhumane things that Germans unquestionably did to Jews during World War II. In my opinion you should acknowledge up front that the Jews were subjected to systematic discrimination, forcible rounding up, imprisonment, slave labor, executions, theft of property, and so forth.

Without such an acknowledgement, revisionism sometimes sounds like Nazi apologetics. If atrocities or crimes were in fact carried out against Jews, why not acknowledge that up front?

I first encountered the exterminationist view as a child, and it has been hammered into my head ever since. But even when I was young I questioned it. I guess I'm a born skeptic. My own critique always went something like this: One, If the Germans wanted to kill all the Jews, why didn't they just walk into their houses, shoot them there or on the edge of town, take their property, and bury them in nearby mass graves? That would have been much simpler. The exterminationist view that Jews were instead transported by rail clear across Europe in order to kill them seems illogical and wasteful, given the essential strategic importance of rail transport.

Two, If it was common knowledge in the camps that the Jews were being exterminated, as survivors now claim, why didn't the Jewish camp prisoners try to escape en masse? It seems obvious to me that knowing of systematic mass slaughter would cause most people to act desperately to get out, trying anything, regardless of guards and the unlikelihood of survival.

Three, How is it that any Jews were left alive in German concentration camps at the end of the war? The fact that many did survive, even in camps, seems inconsistent with a policy of systematic extermination. Four, Why do we always hear that "six million" Jews were killed? That strikes me as a suspiciously convenient, rounded figure. Why not 4.8, 5.7, 6.5, or 7.235 million? The "six million" should at least be qualified with an "approximately."

I am writing this merely tell you that I do not want to be a victim of propaganda, mainstream or otherwise. I pride myself on being able to accept "truth," no matter how inconvenient.

As a second generation Polish-American, I have always been equally interested in both Nazi and Soviet atrocities. I have always wondered why Soviet atrocities are largely ignored, while German ones are played up in the media, seemingly on a daily basis. Aware of the often propagandistic nature of everything we hear about World War II, and now that I have seen many of the extensive sources cited by the IHR, I have become defamiliarized and upset. I no longer know (if I ever thought I did) what the real story is, and I fear I may never know for sure. I guess I now think that the truth is somewhere between the traditional exterminationist view and yours.

Every historical topic, even the Holocaust, should be subject to debate. Whatever the validity of your arguments, you are without question courageous in going against the grain.

C. J.
[by e-mail]

A Suggestion

I suggest replacing the term "Holocaust" with the term "Auschwitz tragedy," because the extent of a tragedy can ben investigated, whereas a religious "holocaust" defies academic research.

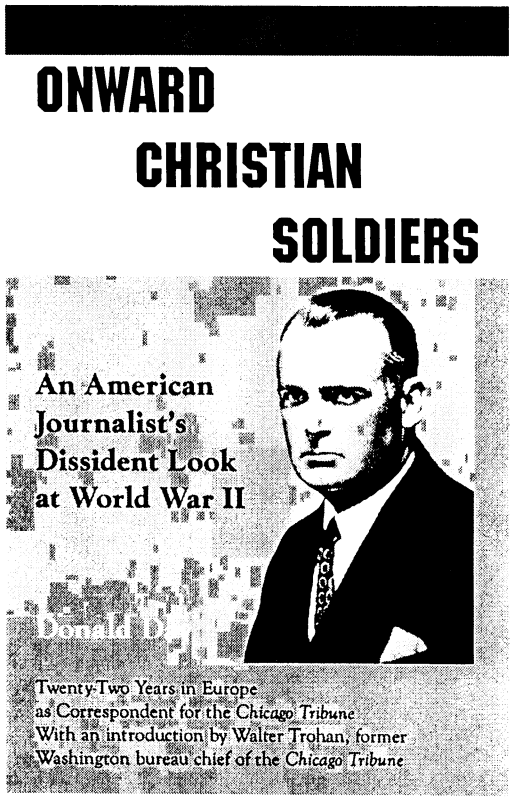
P. D.
Boeblingen, Germany

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

A Startlingly Dissident Look at World War II, From an American Journalist who Sided with Axis Germany

A seasoned American observer of the European scene who refused to compromise his integrity and principles provides an informed, outspoken view of World War II and its origins that contrasts sharply with the familiar, official accounts.

For 22 years Donald Day (1895-1966) was the only American journalist stationed in Europe north of Berlin. From Poland, Finland, Latvia, Sweden and elsewhere in northern and central Europe, he covered events as correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune.* His dispatches were read by millions of readers of the *New York Daily News,* the *Chicago Tribune,* and dozens of other American newspapers. He was also an authority on the Soviet Union. But unlike many of those who reported on Soviet affairs, he was undeceived about the true character of the Stalin regime.


ONWARD
CHRISTIAN
SOLDIERS
An American Journalist's Dissident Look at World War II
Twenty-Two Years in Europe as Correspondent for the Chicago Tribune
With an introduction by Walter Trohan, former Washington bureau chief of the Chicago Tribune

As war approached in March-August 1939, Day lamented Britain's anti-German policies and the sharply anti-German tone of the British press, which he attributed to Jewish power and influence. In early 1939 the authorities in Warsaw barred him from verifying the rapidly accumulating reports of Polish persecution of the country's ethnic German minority, which was an important factor in the rising tension between Germany and Poland that culminated in the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939.

In 1940 Day reported from Latvia on the brutal Soviet subjugation of the Baltic lands. He was virtually the only western journalist to provide frank, first-hand coverage of this great human tragedy. Similarly, he accompanied Finnish troops as they advanced into Soviet territory in the summer and fall of 1941.

He wrote *Onward Christian Soldiers* in late 1942 and early 1943, at a time when, he believed, the future of Western civilization hung in the balance. Convinced that Third Reich Germany was Europe's only bulwark against Soviet tyranny, Day resolved actively to enlist in what he regarded as the West's crucial struggle for survival.

In the summer of 1944, at a time when the tide of war had already shifted decisively to the Allies, he moved to Berlin to work for German radio. From September 1944 until April 1945, he broadcast from the beleaguered capital city, speaking out against President Roosevelt and America's military-political alliance with Stalinist Russia, and the ruthless Allied war against Germany and Christian Europe.

What moved this middle-aged veteran journalist to risk being branded, and punished, as a traitor? In this valuable memoir, Day reveals the character and thinking of an American who decided to enlist with Axis Europe.

Onward Christian Soldiers
by Donald Day
With a preface by journalist Walter Trohan, and a foreword by historian Mark Weber.
Softcover. 220 pages. Index. (#0044). $13.95 • ISBN 0-939482-62-2

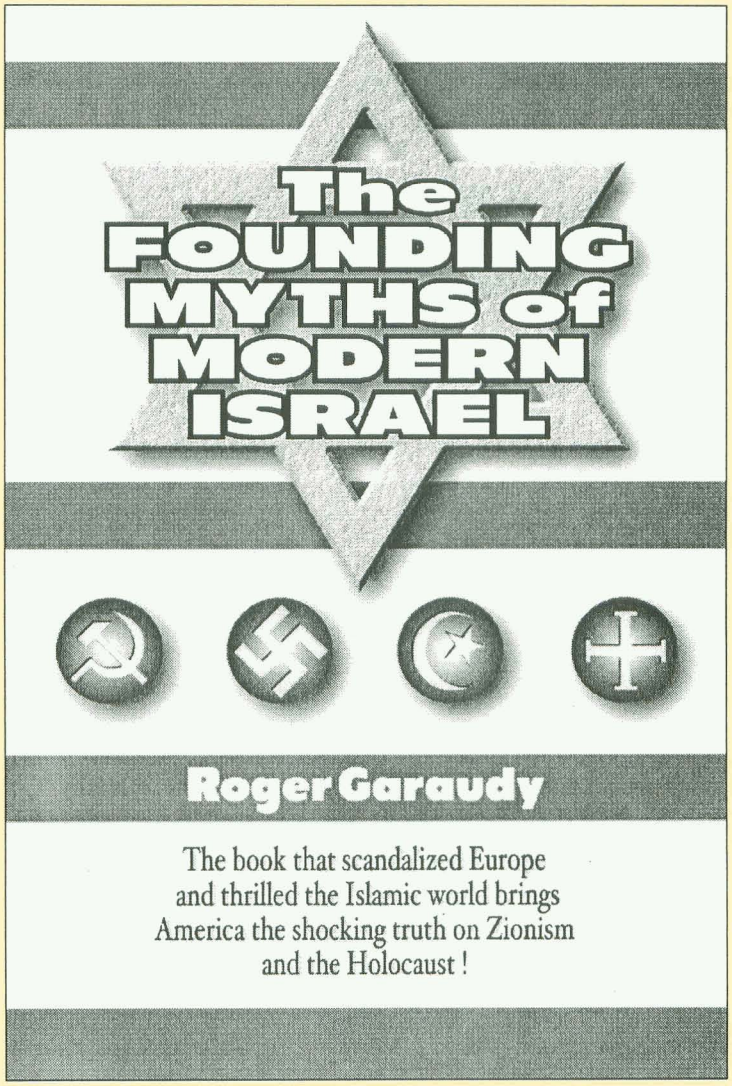
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
PO BOX 2739 · NEWPORT BEACH, CA 92659 · USA
FAX (949) 631-0981 · HTTP://WWW.IHR.ORG

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.



For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him $40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

Relying on a vast range of Zionist, Soviet, American and German source references, this well-documented study is packed with hundreds of eye-opening quotations, many by prominent Jewish scholars and personalities.

Here, at last, this important work is available in a handsome, professionally edited English-language edition, with a valuable foreword by Theodore J. O'Keefe.

The Founding Myths of Modern Israel
by Roger Garaudy

Quality soft-cover. 230 pages. Source references. Index. (#0246)
$13.95, plus $2.50 shipping ($6.50 foreign; California orders add $1.05 sales tax)

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
PO Box 2739 · Newport Beach, CA 92659 · USA
FAX (949) 631-0981 · HTTP://WWW.IHR.ORG